

## Message Text

PAGE 01 NATO 00478 01 OF 04 291851Z

47

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ACDA-05 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 INRE-00

NSCE-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-07

L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

CU-02 AEC-05 OIC-02 OMB-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 TRSE-00

BIB-01 /079 W

----- 083104

O R 291745Z JAN 75

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9805

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 4 USNATO 0478

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CSCE, NATO

SUBJ: CSCE: DISCUSSIONS AT EC POLITICAL DIRECTORS MEETING

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

REF: A. USNATO 0450 B. DUBLIN 162 C. BONN 01430

1. THE MISSION TRANSMITS BELOW ITS INFORMAL TRANSLATION OF THE  
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NATO 00478 01 OF 04 291851Z

TEXT OF THE ITALIAN REPORT ON EC POLITICAL DIRECTORS' DECISIONS  
RE CSCE. WE NOTE THIS REPORT COVERS MUCH OF THE GROUND ALREADY  
REPORTED IN REFS B AND C. ITALIAN REPORT, HOWEVER, PROVIDES  
USEFUL ADDITIONAL DETAIL, PARTICULARLY ON HOW EC NINE VIEW



PROGRESS ACHIEVED THUS FAR AND UPCOMING TACTICAL SITUATION.

2. BEGIN TEXT.

AT ITS JANUARY 24, 1975 DUBLIN MEETING, THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE OF THE NINE APPROVED A REPORT OF THE CSCE SUBCOMMITTEE CONCERNING VARIOUS ASPECTS ON THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS. THE DECISIONS ADOPTED BY THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE CAN BE SUMMARIZED AS FOLLOWS:

A. PEACEFUL CHANGE OF FRONTIERS

THE FORMULA PROPOSED ON JULY 26 BY THE AMERICAN DELEGATION, AND SUPPORTED BY THE NINE, FOR INSERTION IN THE FIRST PRINCIPLE (SOVEREIGN EQUALITY OF STATES) HAS NOT BEEN THE SUBJECT OF OFFICIAL DISCUSSIONS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE CONFERENCE. HOWEVER BILATERAL CONVERSATIONS GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT THE PROSPECTS FOR AGREEMENT ON THIS TEXT ARE UNCERTAIN. THE PREVAILING OPINION AMONG THE NINE IS THAT THE DISCUSSIONS MUST CONTINUE ON THE BASIS OF THE POSITIVE FORMULA OF JULY 26.

B. EQUAL VALUE OF PRINCIPLES AND LINK BETWEEN THEM

PARTICULAR ATTENTION SHOULD BE GIVEN TO THE PERTINENT PARAGRAPHS OF THE FRENCH TEXT. THE FOLLOWING THREE IDEAS IN THESE PARAGRAPHS ARE CONSIDERED ESSENTIAL BY THE NINE:

1. THE EQUAL IMPORTANCE OF PRINCIPLES FOR SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE;

2. APPLICATION OF EACH PRINCIPLE WITHOUT RESERVATION;

3. EACH PRINCIPLE MUST BE CONSTRUED IN THE CONTEXT OF THE OTHERS. AS REGARDS THIS POINT, IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO CONVINCE THE SOVIETS TO ACCEPT EITHER THE SENTENCE IN THE FRENCH DRAFT OR THE CORRESPONDING PHRASE OF THE DECLARATION ON FRIENDLY RELATIONS, OR ANOTHER FORMULATION SUCH AS: "EACH PRINCIPLE MUST BE CONSTRUED TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE OTHERS."

C. FRENCH AMENDMENT

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 NATO 00478 01 OF 04 291851Z

THE FRENCH DELEGATION TABLED ON DECEMBER 12 THE FOLLOWING TEXT, WHICH IS CONTAINED IN THE NEW VERSION OF ARTICLE 10 OF THE FRENCH DRAFT: "THE PARTICIPATING STATES NOTE THAT THE PRESENT (TITLE OF DOCUMENT) CANNOT AND WILL NOT AFFECT THEIR RIGHTS, OBLIGATIONS OR RESPONSIBILITIES, NOR THE TREATIES, AGREEMENTS, OR ARRANGEMENTS IN CONFORMITY WITH INTERNATIONAL LAW WHICH REFLECT THEM, PREVIOUSLY ENTERED INTO BY THOSE STATES OR WHICH CONCERN THEM." THE SUB-COMMITTEE FELT THAT THE BEST PLACE FOR THIS RESERVATION WOULD BE IN THE FINAL CLAUSES.

THE SOVIET DELEGATION HAS EXPRESSED ITS AGREEMENT WITH THIS TEXT WHICH COULD, HOWEVER, RAISE DIFFICULTIES FROM OTHER DELEGATIONS.



D. MENTION OF THE UN CHARTER

VARIOUS PROBLEMS WERE PRESENTED BY THE MENTION OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER, NOT ONLY IN PARAGRAPH 10 (THIRD SENTENCE OF THE INITIAL FRENCH DRAFT) BUT IN OTHER PASSAGES OF THE DECLARATION.

IT WOULD BE WORTHWHILE TO TREAT THIS SUBJECT IN AN OVERALL WAY FOR THE WHOLE OF THE DECLARATION AND TO STUDY WHETHER A SINGLE FORMULA TO BE INSERTED IN THE PREAMBLE COULD NOT RESOLVE THIS PROBLEM, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE INTERESTS OF THOSE MEMBER STATES FOR WHICH IT POSES A SPECIAL PROBLEM. THERE WOULD REMAIN IN THE PARAGRAPHS ON PRINCIPLES ONLY THE REFERENCES TO THE CHARTER WHICH WOULD BE JUSTIFIED FOR PARTICULAR REASONS.

E. THE FOLLOWING FORMULATION HAS BEEN SUGGESTED WITH A VIEW TO ITS INSERTION IN THE PREAMBLE OF THE DECLARATION, AFTER SOME MODIFICATION TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE PRESENT EDITING OF POINT 6 OF THE FRENCH PREAMBLE: "NOTING THAT THE PRINCIPLES ENUMERATED BELOW CONFORM WITH (MUST BE INTERPRETED IN CONFORMITY WITH) THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER, WHOSE AIMS AND PRINCIPLES MUST GUIDE THE CONDUCT OF ALL STATES."

THE IDEA CONTAINED IN THE FOURTH SENTENCE OF THE FRENCH DRAFT OF ARTICLE 10, WHICH QUOTES ARTICLE 103 OF THE CHARTER COULD BE MAINTAINED.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 NATO 00478 02 OF 04 291906Z

47

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ACDA-05 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 INRE-00

NSCE-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-07

L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

CU-02 AEC-05 OIC-02 OMB-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 TRSE-00

BIB-01 /079 W

----- 083296

O R 291745Z JAN 75

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9806

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE



AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS  
USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE  
USDEL MBFR VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 4 USNATO 0478

F. THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION  
THE DELEGATIONS OF THE NINE WILL SEEK TO HAVE  
REGISTERED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AFTER THE RESUMPTION OF THE  
NEGOTIATIONS THE TEXT OF THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION  
IN THE FORM IN WHICH IT WAS READ BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE FIRST  
SUB-COMMITTEE ON DECEMBER 19.

G. INSERTION IN THE TEXTS OF THE DECLARATION ON PRINCIPLES  
WE SHOULD MAINTAIN OUR POSITION AGAINST HAVING  
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NATO 00478 02 OF 04 291906Z

A SINGLE DOCUMENT FOR THE WHOLE OF BASKET I. THERE WOULD BE  
SERIOUS DISADVANTAGES IN HAVING THE PRINCIPLES OF RELATIONS  
BETWEEN STATES AND CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES APPEAR IN THE  
SAME TEXT. THE TWO SUBJECTS ARE VERY DIFFERENT. CBMS ARE NOT  
CLEARLY RELATED TO ANY SINGLE PRINCIPLE. THEY FLOW ONLY  
INDIRECTLY FROM THE RENUNCIATION OF THE THREAT OF FORCE. WE  
DO NOT THINK IT WOULD BE IN OUR INTEREST TO PRESENT THEM AS  
IMPLEMENTING MEASURES FOR THE PRINCIPLES, FOR THIS WOULD OPEN  
THE WAY TO OTHER "IMPLEMENTING MEASURES," WITH THE RISK OF  
ADVANCING THE IDEA OF A NEW SECURITY SYSTEM. FURTHERMORE,  
THE SUBJECT OF CBMS IS MUCH MORE SPECIFIC THAN THAT OF THE  
PRINCIPLES. IN ADDITION, THE NATURE OF THE COMMITMENT FOR  
CBMS IS DIFFERENT THAN THAT FOR THE PRINCIPLES. WE THEREFORE  
SHOULD STICK TO THE PRINCIPLES OF THE AUTONOMY OF EACH OF THE  
DOCUMENTS TO BE DRAFTED IN THE FRAMEWORK OF COMMITTEE I.

H. ROMANIAN PROPOSAL ON NON-RECOURSE TO FORCE  
THE DANGERS PRESENTED BY THE ROMANIAN PROPOSAL WERE  
REDUCED DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS. ONE MUST NEVERTHELESS TAKE  
CARE THAT CERTAIN PROVISIONS IN THIS DOCUMENT NOT BE USED TO  
THE DETRIMENT OF THE INTERESTS OF THE NINE. THE MOST IMMEDIATE  
PROBLEM IS THAT OF THE INSERTION OF THIS TEXT INTO THE FINAL  
DOCUMENT.

THE FOLLOWING POSSIBILITIES EXIST:

- A) SEPARATE RESOLUTION OR RECOMMENDATION;
- B) A TEXT APPEARING AS A SEPARATE SECTION OF THE  
DECLARATION ON PRINCIPLES;
- C) A SINGLE TEXT WHICH WOULD TREAT THE ROMANIAN  
AND SWISS POINTS TOGETHER;



D) THE ROMANIAN TEXT, WITH OR WITHOUT THE SWISS  
TEXT, AS AN APPENDIX TO THE DECLARATION ON PRINCIPLES;  
E) SPRINKLING OF THE ROMANIAN DOCUMENT'S AGREED  
UPON POINTS THROUGHOUT VARIOUS CONFERENCE DOCUMENT.

PENDING FINAL PRESENTATION OF THE ROMANIAN DOCUMENT,  
SOLUTION (A) IS PREFERRED BY THE NINE.

I. SWISS PROPOSAL ON THE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES  
THE SWISS DELEGATION HAS ANNOUNCED IT WILL TABLE A NEW  
ENABLING PROPOSAL (PROJET DE DISPOSITIF). IT WILL PROBABLY BE  
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 NATO 00478 02 OF 04 291906Z

A TEXT WHICH WILL ADDRESS PROCEDURAL QUESTIONS REQUIREING FURTHER  
STUDY RATHER THAN SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES. IF CERTAIN CONDITIONS ARE  
MET, THIS PROPOSAL WOULD NOT GO AGAINST OUR INTERESTS. WE WILL  
HAVE TO EXAMINE THE PROBLEM, PARTICULARLY IN THE LIGHT OF OUR

INTERESTS ON THE QUESTION OF CONFERENCE FOLLOW-UP.

L. CBMS  
THE NEGOTIATIONS HAVE NOT SHOWN MUCH PROGRESS BECAUSE  
OF SOVIET RIGIDITY AND THERE IS AS YET NO CLEAR INDICATION AS  
TO THE PROSPECTS FOR THESE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE EAST OR AS TO  
THEIR OUTCOME.

IN GENEVA THE NINE ARE CONFRONTED WITH A TACTICAL  
PROBLEM. LEAVING THE PRECISE DEFINITION OF THE CRITERIA FOR  
MODIFICATION OF MANEUVERS UNTIL THE LAST MOMENT HAS OBVIOUS  
IMPLICATIONS FOR THE CONTENT OF SUCH MEASURES AS WELL AS FOR  
THE FINAL BARGAINING SITUATION. THESE RISKS COULD BE REDUCED IF  
THE NINE FIRMLY INFORMED THE EASTERN COUNTRIES THAT  
SATISFACTORY RESULTS MUST BE OBTAINED IN THE SECOND PHASE WITHOUT  
BEING PUT OFF UNTIL THE STAGE OF CONFERENCE FOLLOW-UP, AND  
THAT BALANCED PROGRESS IN THE VARIOUS AREAS OF THE CONFERENCE'S  
NEGOTIATIONS MUST BE REESTABLISHED.

THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE REAFFIRMS THAT THE POLITICAL  
AND MILITARY ASPECTS OF SECURITY ARE COMPLEMENTARY AND THEREFORE  
A POSITIVE AND PRECISE POLITICAL COMMITMENT ON CBMS IS NEEDED.  
THE COMMITTEE THINKS THE FOLLOWING POINTS ARE ESSENTIAL AT THE  
PRESENT STAGE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS:

A) AS TO THE TIMING, THE NINE WILL INSIST THAT  
THE MAIN LINES OF AN ACCEPTABLE TEXT OF CBMS EMERGE BEFORE THE  
CONCLUSION OF THE FIRST READING OF THE DRAFT DECLARATION ON  
PRINCIPLES;

B) AS TO SUBSTANCE, CBMS MUST BE APPLIED TO THE  
WHOLE OF EUROPE. THE NINE COULD ACCEPT EXCEPTIONS FOR PARTS  
OF THE TERRITORIES OF THE USSR AND TURKEY, BUT CARE MUST BE  
TAKEN NOT TO CREATE OTHER SPECIAL ZONES. FURTHERMORE,  
NOTIFICATION MUST BE SENT TO ALL PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES.



THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE THINKS THAT THIS ISSUE MUST  
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 NATO 00478 02 OF 04 291906Z

BE FOLLOWED CLOSELY, IN CORRINATION WITH OTHER INTERESTED  
COUNTRIES, BECAUSE OF ITS POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 NATO 00478 03 OF 04 291942Z

47  
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ACDA-05 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 INRE-00

NSCE-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-07

L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

CU-02 AEC-05 OIC-02 OMB-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 TRSE-00

BIB-01 /079 W  
----- 083703

O R 291745Z JAN 75  
FM USMISSION NATO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9807  
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN  
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE  
AMEBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS  
USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE  
USDEL MBFR VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 4 USNATO 0478

COMMITTEE III  
M. THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE HAS SET AS GOALS: ON THE  
ONE HAND, THE AFFIRMATION OF LONG-TERM OBJECTIVES AND GENERAL  
RULES; ON THE OTHER, THE ADOPTION OF SPECIFIC MEASURES. THE  
COMMITTEE ALSO SUGGESTED TO THE NINE THAT THEY AVOID RESTRICTIVE  
FORMULAS WHICH MIGHT CANCEL THE PRACTICAL EFFECT OF THE AGREED  
UPON ARRANGEMENTS. AT THE PRESENT STAGE OF THE CONFERENCE, THIS  
PRECAUTION SHOULD APPLY TO ALL THREE BASKETS SO AS TO BE SURE



THAT RESTRICTIONS ON ONE OF THE BASKETS DO NOT EXTEND TO THE  
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NATO 00478 03 OF 04 291942Z

OTHER BASKETS.

IT IS ON HUMAN CONTACTS THAT DISCUSSION OF "AIMS AND  
RULES" HAS GONE THE FARTHEST. DENMARK, WITH THE SUPPORT OF  
FRANCE, HAS TABLED A DRAFT INTRODUCTORY TEXT, SETTING OUT THE  
COMMON AND PERMANENT OBJECTIVE OF FACILITATING FREER MOVEMENT  
AND CONTACTS. ADDED TO THIS IS THE IMPROVEMENT OF EXISTING  
PRACTICES AS WELL AS THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF EFFORTS AIMED  
AT CONTINUING PROGRESS IN THE PURSUIT OF DETENTE. THE RUSSIAN  
TRANSLATION OF THIS TEXT, WHICH CONTAINS CERTAIN DIFFERENCES  
WITH THE ORIGINAL FRENCH TEXT, WAS TABLED SIMULTANEOUSLY BUT  
SEPARATELY BY POLAND AND APPROVED BY THE EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.

OTHER DELEGATIONS HAVE HOWEVER EXPRESSED RESERVATIONS  
ABOUT THIS TEXT, AND THE NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM HAVE TABLED  
TWO AMENDMENTS, THE FIRST OF WHICH WOULD MODIFY THE  
REFERENCE TO DETENTE AND THE SECOND WOULD STRENGTHEN THE  
DEGREE OF COMMITMENT BY PARTICIPATING STATES IN THE FINAL PHASE.  
ALTHOUGH DENMARK AND FRANCE DO NOT SUPPORT THESE AMENDMENTS,  
THEIR DELEGATIONS AGREE THAT THEY WOULD REPRESENT AN  
IMPROVEMENT AND DENMARK AND FRANCE WILL NOT OPPOSE ATTEMPTS TO  
HAVE THE DUTCH AND BELGIAN AMENDMENTS ADOPTED. IT WILL ALSO BE  
NECESSARY TO RESOLVE THE PROBLEMS POSED BY THE DIFFERENCES  
BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND RUSSIAN VERSIONS OF THE TEXT.

IN THE OTHER SUBCOMMITTEES, OTHER TEXTS NOW APPEAR  
POSSIBLE, SOMEWHAT LESS PRECISE AS REGARDS INFORMATION AND  
SOMEWHAT MORE PRECISE ON THE FRENCH DRAFT ON CULTURE. THE  
ALREADY AGREED UPON PREAMBLE ON EDUCATION IS SATISFACTORY IN  
THIS REGARD.

AS TO "CONCRETE MEASURES", THE SITUATION IS AS FOLLOWS:  
HUMAN CONTACTS. COMPROMISES HAVE BEEN REACHED ON MEETINGS OF  
FAMILIES, FAMILY REUNIFICATION AND MARRIAGE (POSITIVE OR  
FAVORABLE AND PROMPT HANDLING OF REQUESTS, REASONABLE FEES,  
RENEWAL OF REQUESTS, PROTECTION OF THE RIGHTS OF APPLICANTS).

IN ADDITION TO THE INTRODUCTORY PARAGRAPH, AGREEMENT  
REMAINS TO BE REACHED ON THE TEXT OF TRAVEL FORMALITIES, AND  
ESSENTIAL POINT ON WHICH SERIOUS DIFFERENCES CONTINUE. THE  
TEXT ON TOURISM AND YOUTH (WHICH INCLUDES THE QUESTION OF  
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 NATO 00478 03 OF 04 291942Z

TOURIST INFORMATION OFFICES) HAS NOT YET BEEN DISCUSSED.  
INFORMATION. COMPROMISES HAVE ALSO BEEN REACHED ON WRITTEN  
INFORMATION, BOTH FOR CIRCULATION (IMPORTATION OF A LARGER  
NUMBER OF COPIES AND TITLES) AS WELL AS FOR ACCESS BY THE



PUBLIC (INCREASING THE NUMBER OF SALES OUTLETS, SUBSCRIPTIONS).  
A SECONDARY TEXT HAS ALSO BEEN AGREED UPON FOR COOPERATION AND  
EXCHANGES.

TWO IMPORTANT POINTS REMAIN TO BE SETTLED: AUDIO-VISUAL  
INFORMATION AND WORKING CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS. ON THE  
FIRST POINT, OUR PROSPECTS FOR REACHING SIGNIFICANT RESULTS SEEM  
SLIGHT. THE PRICE TO PAY FOR A SOVIET COMMITMENT TO STOP  
JAMMING OR EVEN TO CONSOLIDATE THE RECENTLY IMPROVED SITUATION  
IN THIS REGARD WOULD APPARENTLY BE THAT THE WEST RECOGNIZE THE  
RESPONSIBILITY OF STATES FOR BROADCASTING, AND THIS WOULD POSE  
SERIOUS PROBLEMS FOR THE NINE. WE COULD LIMIT OURSELVES TO  
REQUESTING AS A MATTER OF PRINCIPLE THE CESSATION OF JAMMING AND,  
IF WE FAIL, INFORM THE WESTERN PRESS OF OUR GALLANT ATTEMPT. IT  
ALSO REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER A MEANINGFUL AGREEMENT CAN BE  
REACHED ON PUBLICATION OF WAVE LENGTHS OF FOREIGN BROADCASTS.  
THERE ARE, ON THE OTHER HAND, REASONS TO HOPE THAT WORKING  
CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS WILL BE THE SUBJECT OF A MEANINGFUL  
AGREEMENT (ENTRY DOCUMENTS, WORKING CONDITIONS, IMPORTATION OF  
EQUIPMENT, TRANSMISSION OF INFORMATION). IN ADDITION, A TEXT  
HAS BEEN PROPOSED AND DISCUSSED WHICH WOULD PROVIDE FOR THE  
PUBLICATION AND CIRCULATION OF THE FINAL DOCUMENTS OF CSCE.

CULTURE. TEXTS HAVE ALREADY BEEN REGISTERED AND UNOFFICIALLY  
AGREED UPON ON SEVERAL IMPORTANT POINTS REGARDING BOOKS  
(SUPPLYING OF LIBRARIES AND BOOKSTORES WITH FOREIGN BOOKS,  
INCREASING THE NUMBER OF SALES OUTLETS). THE PROBLEM OF CONTACTS  
BETWEEN AUTHORS AND PUBLISHERS IS THE SUBJECT OF BILATERAL  
TALKS. AS CONCERNS THE MOVEMENT OF CULTURAL POSSESSIONS, FOR  
VARIOUS REASONS (THE SOVIET POSITION THAT THIS IS PART OF  
ABSKET II; RESERVATIONS BY CERTAIN WESTERN DELEGATIONS) WE  
HAVE BEEN ABLE TO ACHIEVE ONLY VERY GENERAL PROVISIONS PROVIDING  
NEARLY FOR STUDIES OR MEETINGS BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVES OF  
INTERESTED ORGANIZATIONS.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 NATO 00478 04 OF 04 291954Z

47

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ACDA-05 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 INRE-00

NSCE-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-07

L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

CU-02 AEC-05 OIC-02 OMB-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 TRSE-00

BIB-01 /079 W

----- 083831

O R 291745Z JAN 75



FM USMISSION NATO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9808  
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN  
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN  
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS  
USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE  
USDEL MBFR VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 4 OF 4 USNATO 0478

BUT A CERTAIN NUMBER OF TEXTS AND IMPORTANT POINTS ARE STILL UNRESOLVED: IN ADDITION TO THE AS YET UNSTUDIED DRAFT DECLARATION (ON WHICH ACCEPTANCE OF OUR FIVE OBJECTIVES WILL BE VERY DIFFICULT), AGREEMENT REMAINS TO BE REACHED ON FOREIGN READING ROOMS (WHICH THE SOVIETS ALONE CONTINUE STUBBORNLY TO REFUSE), ON CONTACTS BETWEEN AUTHORS AND PUBLISHERS (WHICH WILL BE ONE OF THE MOST DIFFICULT POINTS BECAUSE OF ITS IMPLICATIONS), ON THE TRANSFER OF ARTISTS' FEES (ON WHICH THE USSR IS VERY NEGATIVE, YUGOSLAVIA FAVORABLE, AND THE AMERICANS STRONGLY CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NATO 00478 04 OF 04 291954Z

INTERESTED).

EDUCATION. THIS SUBCOMMITTEE HAS PRACTICALLY FINISHED MOST OF ITS WORK. OUR ESSENTIAL AIMS HAVE BEEN ALMOST REACHED ON DIRECT CONTACT BETWEEN EDUCATORS AND SCIENTISTS (ALTHOUGH THEY DO NOT APPEAR IN THE HELSINKI MANDATE) AND ACCESS TO EDUCATIONAL AND SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTIONS. A GOOD TEXT HAS ALSO BEEN REGISTERED ON THE DEVELOPMENT AND SPREAD OF TEACHING OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES. THERE ONLY REMAINS THE REGISTRATION OF THE PREAMBLE (ALREADY AGREED UPON IN FACT) AND THE DISCUSSION OF A NON-POLITICAL PROPOSAL ON TEACHING EXCHANGES.

ON THE WHOLE, AND WITH THE RESERVATION THAT THESE RESULTS CANNOT BE CONSIDERED COMPLETELY FINAL (TEXTS ARE ONLY PROVISIONALLY REGISTERED AND THEIR EFFECT CAN BE MODIFIED BY INTRODUCTORY LANGUAGE WHICH HAS NOT YET BEEN AGREED UPON), IT APPEARS THAT THE BALANCE SHEET OF THE BASKET III NEGOTIATIONS CAN BE DRAWN UP AS FOLLOWS: AGREEMENT HAS BEEN OR IS ABOUT TO BE REACHED ON THREE-FIFTHS OF THE TEXTS. THESE CAN BE DIVIDED AS FOLLOWS: BY ORDER OF PROGRESS ACHIEVED: EDUCATION (FIVE TEXTS OUT OF SIX), CONTACTS (FOUR TEXTS OUT OF SEVEN), INFORMATION (FOUR TEXTS OUT OF SEVEN), CULTURE (NEARLY THREE TEXTS OUT OF SIX). IT CAN BE SAID THAT SUBSTANTIAL RESULTS HAVE



BEEN ACHIEVED, BUT WHAT HAS ALREADY BEEN OBTAINED IS NOT OF A NATURE THAT WE COULD IN THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS STOP INSISTING ON THE ESSENTIAL POINTS ON WHICH SOLUTIONS STILL MUST BE FOUND.

N. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, IT APPEARS NEITHER NECESSARY NOR DESIRABLE TO CHANGE THE COMMON GUIDELINES GIVEN TO THE DELEGATIONS OF THE NINE. THESE GUIDELINES, WHICH IN PARTICULAR BY REQUIRING A DETAILED FIRST READING OF ALL TEXTS AND BY PUTTING THE NEGOTIATORS ON THEIR GUARD AGAINST THE ABUSE OF RESTRICTIVE CLAUSES, HAVE PERMITTED EFFECTIVE WORK TO DATE AND HAVE ALLOWED US ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS TO FOIL ATTEMPTS BY OTHERS TO JOSTLE THE NEGOTIATIONS. THESE GUIDELINES THEREFORE SHOULD BE APPLIED UNTIL THE END OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.

O. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE QUESTION ARISES WHETHER IN VIEW OF THE UNEVEN RATE OF PROGRESS IN THE SUBCOMMITTEES, IT WOULD CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 NATO 00478 04 OF 04 291954Z

NOT BE APPROPRIATE TO REARRANGE THE TACTICAL ORDER OF THE DISCUSSIONS. IF WE REJECT OUT OF HAND THE IDEA OF DELIBERATE DELAYS IN THE WORK OF ONE OR THE OTHER SUBCOMMITTEE SO AS TO ALLOW OTHERS TO CATCH UP, AND IF ONE ACCEPTS THE IDEA THAT EACH SUBCOMMITTEE SHOULD WORK AT ITS OWN SPEED WITH THE IDEA OF RESERVING FOR THE FINAL STAGES OF NEGOTIATIONS (AND FOR BARGAINING BETWEEN BASKETS) THE FEW UNDECIDED ESSENTIAL POINTS, THE BEST COURSE WOULD SEEM TO BE TO ALLOW WORK TO BE COMPLETED AS POSSIBILITIES ALLOW. WE CAN FORESEE THAT THE THREE OTHER SUBCOMMITTEES WILL HAVE COMPLETED THEIR WORK BEFORE THE CULTURE SUBCOMMITTEE FINISHES AND EFFORTS COULD THEN BE CONCENTRATED ON THE LATTER SUBCOMMITTEE. WITHIN THE CULTURE SUBCOMMITTEE WE COULD THEN DISTINGUISH THE ESSENTIAL POINTS (READING ROOMS, CONTACTS, AND THE AIMS OF THE DRAFT DECLARATION) FROM TEXTS OF SECONDARY IMPORTANCE. AS TO THE LATTER TEXTS, COMPROMISES ON OUR SIDE MIGHT BE POSSIBLE IF WE COULD THEREBY OBTAIN ADVANTAGES IN OTHER AREAS.

P. FOLLOW-UP. IN THE DISCUSSION ON CONFERENCE FOLLOW-UP, THE HEART OF THE PROBLEM WAS NOT REALLY TAKEN UP. THIS CORRESPONDS TO OUR POSITION THAT THIS ISSUE MUST BE STUDIED IN THE LIGHT OF THE RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE.

WE CAN FORESEE THAT IN THE NEXT FEW MONTHS, THIS PROBLEM WILL BE ONE OF THE MAIN ISSUES IN THE NEGOTIATIONS.

Q. THE DRAFTING OF A DECLARATION ON THE MEDITERRANEAN, ON THE BASIS OF THE ITALIAN DRAFT, AND TAKING INTO ACCOUNT ACCEPTABLE ELEMENTS IN THE NON-ALIGNED PROPOSAL, IS CONTINUING IS A SATISFACTORY MANNER.

R. PREPARATION OF DECISIONS CONCERNING PHASE III. AT THE



APPROPRIATE TIME, WE SHOULD CLOSELY COORDINATE OUR POSITIONS  
ON THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

- THE STAGE AT WHICH THE COORDINATION COMMITTEE SHOULD  
ACTIVELY BEGIN STUDYING PREPARATION FOR THE THIRD PHASE;

- THE QUESTIONS WHICH THE COMMITTEE WILL HAVE TO STUDY  
CONCERNING DATES, PROCEDURAL RULES AND THE NATURE OF THE  
DELIBERATIONS. END TEXT.BRUCE  
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 NATO 00478 04 OF 04 291954Z

CONFIDENTIAL

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>



## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 18 AUG 1999  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** n/a  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 29 JAN 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** CunninFX  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1975NATO00478  
**Document Source:** ADS  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** 11652 GDS  
**Errors:** n/a  
**Film Number:** n/a  
**From:** NATO  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1975/newtext/t19750188/abbrzhwe.tel  
**Line Count:** 555  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE  
**Office:** n/a  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 11  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** A. USNATO 0450 B. DUBLIN 162 C. BONN 01430  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** CunninFX  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 31 MAR 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <31 MAR 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <15 SEP 2003 by CunninFX>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
05 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** CSCE: DISCUSSIONS AT EC POLITICAL DIRECTORS MEETING  
**TAGS:** PFOR, CSCE, NATO  
**To:** STATE INFO BONN  
BRUSSELS  
COPENHAGEN  
DUBLIN  
THE HAGUE  
LONDON



LUXEMBOURG  
MOSCOW  
PARIS  
ROME  
EC BRUSSELS  
GENEVA  
MBFR VIENNA

**Type:** TE

**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006